

## Message Text

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12

ORIGIN EA-03

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EA/VN:RHWENZEL

L:GALDRICH

----- 129251

R 112235Z FEB 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY BERN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
XMT AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USLO PEKING

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FOLLOWING SENT ACTION STATE INFO BUDAPEST WARSAW JAKARTA TEHRAN  
TOKYO MOSCOW PARIS LONDON CANBERRA WELLINGTON BONN ROME STOCKHOLM  
OSLO COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE PEKING FROM SAIGON DATED FEBUARY 2.

QUOTE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: COUNTERING HANOI'S DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE GVN

1. INCREASINGLY, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THEIR COMMUNIST ALLIES  
AND SUPPORTERS AROUND THE WORLD ARE EMPHASIZING IN THEIR PROPA-  
GANDA THAT THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973, RECOGNIZES  
"TWO GOVERNMENTS" IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THEIR PURPOSE IS TO UNDERMIND  
AND ULTIMATELY DESTROY THE STANDING OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF VIETNAM IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. SUCCESS OF THIS PROPAGANDA  
WOULD SERIOUSLY HURT OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA;  
AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOSE  
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ITS FALSITY. ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY FIND THE FOLLOWING POINTS OF USE  
FOR THAT PURPOSE.

2. THE ARGUMENT IS SOMETIMES MADE THAT, BECAUSE THE "PRG"  
SIGNED THE PARIS AGREEMENT ALONG WITH THE U.S., THE GVN, AND THE  
DRV, THE "PRG" BY THIS FACT GAINED THE STATUS OF AN INDEPENDENT  
GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, OF THE FOUR SIGNATORIES OF THE AGREEMENT  
(GVN, U.S., DRV, AND "PRG"), TWO -- THE GVN AND THE U.S. --

MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS CLAIM. THIS IS WHY THE GVN AND THE U.S. DID NOT SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON THE SAME PAGE AS THE "PRG". WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON ANNOUNCED CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT, HE EXPRESSLY STATED THAT THE U.S. CONTINUED TO CONSIDER THE GVN AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM.

3. A SIMILAR ARGUMENT IS SOMETIMES ADVANCED WITH RESPECT TO THE "PRG'S" SUBSEQUENT PARTICIPATION IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM AND ITS SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT OF MARCH 2, 1973, DRAWN UP AT THAT CONFERENCE. THE ACT ITSELF, HOWEVER, IN ARTICLE 9, STATES "SIGNATURE OF THIS ACT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE RECOGNITION OF ANY PARTY IN ANY CONNECTION IN WHICH IT HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN ACCORDED."

4. SINCE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE TWO GOVERNMENTS SOVEREIGN IN THE SAME TERRITORY, THE COMMUNIST CLAIM THAT THERE ARE "TWO GOVERNMENTS" IN SOUTH VIETNAM, IF ACCEPTED, WOULD MEAN THE PARTITION OF SOUTH VIETNAM. FOR THIS, THERE IS NO SANCTION IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT. FROM ARTICLE 15 IT IS CLEAR THAT FOR PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT THERE IS ONLY ONE AREA CALLED SOUTH VIETNAM, I.E., VIETNAM SOUTH OF THE 17TH PARALLEL. HANOI HAS NEVER CONTESTED THIS VIEW.

5. IN ARTICLES 9 (B) AND 12 (B) THE AGREEMENT CALLS FOR A GENERAL ELECTION, THE TERMS OF WHICH ARE TO BE AGREED ON BY THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES, TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM; BUT UNTIL THIS GENERAL ELECTION IS HELD AND A NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED, THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT, THE GVN, REMAINS SOVEREIGN.

6. THE AGREEMENT SPEAKS OF TWO "PARTIES" IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND IT REFERS INDIRECTLY TO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE TWO PARTIES AND TO THE AREAS CONTROLLED BY EACH PARTY. HOWEVER, CONTRARY TO COMMUNIST CLAIMS, IN NO PLACE DOES THE AGREEMENT REFER TO "TWO GOVERNMENTS", LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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"TWO ADMINISTRATIONS" OR "TWO REGIMES" IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

7. THE "PRG" CANNOT BE CONSIDERED THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM BECAUSE IT IS ONLY AN ARM OF NORTH VIETNAM, THE DRV. IT WAS CREATED IN JUNE 1969 BY NORTH VIETNAM AS A PUPPET "GOVERNMENT" TO REPLACE THE GVN AFTER AN EXPECTED COMMUNIST VICTORY IN THE SOUTH. THE "PRG'S" TOP DECISION-MAKING OFFICIALS ARE MEMBERS OF THE LAO DONG PARTY (THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORTH VIETNAM); AND THEIR POLICY DECISIONS ARE MADE IN HANOI. MILITARILY THE "PRG" IS ALMOST WHOLLY DEPENDENT ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY, WHICH CONSTITUTES THE GREAT BULK OF COMMUNIST MILITARY FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ON WEAPONS FURNISHED BY NORTH VIETNAM'S COMMUNIST ALLIES.

8. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF TERRITORY AND POPULATION ALSO THE PRG

HAS NO CLAIM TO BE CALLED A "GOVERNMENT". WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS,  
"PRG" CONTROL EXISTS ONLY IN THE WILDERNESS, UNPOPULATED AREAS  
OF SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ONLY WHERE IT HAS MILITARY UNITS TO ENFORCE  
ITS CONTROL. IN FACT, THE "PRG" IS RELIABLY ESTIMATED TO HAVE  
CONTROL OVER LESS THAN 3PERCENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM'S 19 MILLION  
PEOPLE. THE GVN, ON THE OTHER HAND, GOVERNS THE REMAINDER OF SOUTH  
VIETNAMESE AND HAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER NEARLY ALL OF SOUTH  
VIETNAM'S POPULATED AND PRODUCTIVE LAND. MARTIN UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PROPAGANDA, TREATY SIGNATURE, SOVEREIGNTY, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL PARTIES  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 FEB 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Executive Order:** N/A  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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